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E.O. 12065: XDS-1 1/28/10 (CASTRO, RAUL H.) OR-M  
TAGS: PEPR, AR  
SUBJECT: (C) DRAFT MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION: GENERAL GOODPASTER'S  
VISIT TO ARGENTINA; GENERAL POLITICAL TOPICS: JANUARY 23

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)
2. MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
3. SUBJECT: GENERAL GOODPASTER'S VISIT TO ARGENTINA:  
GENERAL POLITICAL TOPICS

4. PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS: BRIGADIER (RET) CARLOS PASTOR,  
FOREIGN MINISTER  
DR. JOSE ALFREDO MARTINEZ DE HOZ, MINISTER OF ECONOMY  
COMODORO CARLOS CAVANDOLI, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER  
MR. VICTOR BEAUGE, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (NOTETAKER)  
GENERAL ANDREW J. GOODPASTER, PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY  
RAUL H. CASTRO, U.S. AMBASSADOR IN ARGENTINA  
CLAUS W. RUSER, DEPARTMENT OF STATE (ARA/ECA)  
WILLIAM H. HALLMAN, U.S. EMBASSY BUENOS AIRES (NOTETAKER)

5. PLACE AND TIME: JANUARY 23 AND 24, 1980; THE MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BUENOS AIRES

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6. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. GENERAL GOODPASTER  
MET ON TWO CONSECUTIVE DAYS AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER LED GENERAL POLITICAL  
DISCUSSIONS FOR ARGENTINA, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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CONCERNS, POLITICAL-MILITARY AFFAIRS AND MATTERS HAVING TO DO WITH NUCLEAR COOPERATION. IT WAS HIS GENERAL CONTENTION THAT AN ACCRETION OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS TROUBLES U.S.-ARGENTINE RELATIONS, AND THAT U.S. MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF ARGENTINA HAVE LED US TO MISCALCULATIONS IN POLICY. MOST TROUBLING, HE ASSERTED, HAS BEEN OUR MISUNDERSTANDING OF ARGENTINA'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. IN HIS SECOND PRESENTATION, ON JANUARY 24, BRIGADIER PASTOR SUGGESTED SPECIFIC REMEDIES FOR RESTORING FULL CONFIDENCE AND COOPERATION.

7. A SEPARATE MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION COVERS ECONOMY MINISTER MARTINEZ DE HOZ'S RESPONSE TO OUR EFFORTS TO ENLIST ARGENTINA'S HELP IN KEEPING GRAINS SHIPMENTS TO THE SOVIET UNION AT EARLIER EXISTING LEVELS. END MEMCON INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

8. WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23: FOREIGN MINISTER PASTOR'S FIRST PRESENTATION.

PASTOR RESPONDED TO GENERAL GOODPASTER'S EXPLANATION OF PROBLEMS RISING FROM THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, AND THE GENERAL'S PROPOSED AGENDA FOR DISCUSSING ARGENTINA'S ROLE IN THESE, WITH THE WISH AT SOME POINT TO COVER THE FULLEST RANGE OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS EXISTING BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

9. LATER PASTOR LED INTO HIS SUBJECT WITH A RHETORICAL

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QUESTION: IF GRAINS SHIPMENT COOPERATION IS SO IMPORTANT JUST NOW IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS -- EVEN AS WE ADMIT THAT THIS PROBLEM IS TRANSITORY AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL -- HOW MUCH MORE IMPORTANT IS IT TO HAVE RELATIONS ON SUCH BASIS THAT IN FAR MORE SERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, WAR FOR EXAMPLE, THE UNITED STATES AND ARGENTINA WOULD STAND TOGETHER?

10. WE CANNOT ARRIVE AT THIS HOWEVER WITH "ON-THE-SPOT" DISCUSSIONS. WE NEED TIME, AND IT IS REQUIRED THAT WE ADDRESS A SERIES OF POLITICAL-MILITARY AND OTHER QUESTIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, PASTOR CONTINUED, MEDIOCRE OR BAD RELATIONS ARE THE "NORM" BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE U.S. THE UNITED STATES HAS SELDOM UNDERSTOOD ARGENTINE REALITIES, AND BAD INFORMATION AND MISJUDGMENT HAVE LED TO ERRORS OF

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U.S. POLICY, AND "INADMISSIBLE" U.S.G. ACTIONS.

1. A GREAT U.S. ERROR WAS FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THAT ARGENTINA FOUGHT A WAR AGAINST TERRORISM-COMMUNISM THAT LASTED BETWEEN TWO AND THREE YEARS. AND ARGENTINA WON THE WAR -- UNLIKE, FOR EXAMPLE, NICARAGUA. THE U.S. SHOULD BE PROUD OF ARGENTINA FOR HAVING DONE THIS -- RATHER THAN ASSUMING THAT "VIOLENT REPRESSION" WAS THE HALLMARK OF THIS GOVERNMENT. YET IS IS THIS SYMBOLISM, PASTOR WENT ON, THAT HAS BEEN TAKEN SO SERIOUSLY BY HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES -- RATHER AS THOUGH "ATOMIC BOMB DROPPER" SHOULD CHARACTERIZE THE UNITED STATES BEFORE ARGENTINES, WHEN THE U.S. HAD FOUND IT NECESSARY TO USE THAT INSTRUMENT ONLY IN ONE BRIEF SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

12. FURTHERMORE, THIS U.S. CHARACTERIZATION OF ARGENTINA LED TO MANY UNFAIR POLICY DECISIONS: TO THE HUMPHREY-KENNEDY AMENDMENT, TOWARD CONDEMNATION OF ARGENTINA AT INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS -- EVEN, PASTOR ASSERTED, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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TO U.S. OPPOSITION TO ARGENTINE NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT.

13. COULD THE U.S. NOT HAVE RECALLED THAT IN 1962 ARGENTINA WAS FIRST TO SEND SHIPS TO HELP THE FREE WORLD IN THE CARIBBEAN? ("WE DIDN'T EVEN GET A THANK-YOU NOTE.") ARGENTINA BACKED TH U.S. IN PAKISTAN'S DISPUTE WITH INDIA; THIS COUNTRY HELPED DEFEAT AN UNFRIENDLY MOTION ON PUERTO RICO AT THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT CONFERENCE; WE WERE THE FIRST LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY TO TAKE IN EAST ASIAN REFUGEES; WE VOTED WITH THE U.S. IN TOKYO ROUND TRADE MEETINGS; WE ALIGNED WITH THE U.S. AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN A RESOLUTION ON AFGHANISTAN.

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14. U.S. LACK OF APPRECIATION IS NOT UNDERSTANDABLE TO THE ARGENTINE "MAN ON THE STREET," WHEN HE LEARNS FOR EXAMPLE THAT YOU WANTED TO USE US TO TAKE IN THE SHAH OF IRAN. GOVERNMENTS CHANGE, BUT ARGENTINES REMEMBER ALL THESE PROBLEMS.

15. FOR THIS REASON, PASTOR CONTINUED, GOA MUST ASK NOW FOR PROFOUND CHANGES IN U.S. ATTITUDES TOWARD US, PASTOR SAID. AND NOT ONLY MUST ATTITUDES TOWARD ARGENTINA BE CHANGED, BUT ATTITUDES TOWARD MOST OF LATIN AMERICA. THESE CHANGES OF ATTITUDES IN POLICY HOPEFULLY WILL BE REFLECTED AT THE WHITE HOUSE, IN THE CONGRESS, AT INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. PASTOR ASKED THAT THE U.S. STOP PRESSING ARGENTINA SO HARD IN NUCLEAR AFFAIRS ("IN RESPONSE TO WHICH WE COULD CONSIDER RECOMMENDING THAT THE PRESIDENT POSTPONE A TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION HE PLANS TO MAKE LATER THIS YEAR").

16. (AT THIS POINT PASTOR TOUCHED ON SEVERAL OTHER SPECIFIC POSSIBLE ACTIONS BY THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HE DEVELOPED MORE FULLY THE FOLLOWING DAY. THEY ARE RECORDED IN THAT CONVERSATION.)

17 PASTOR THEN ADDED: AND YOU MUST NOT CATEGORIZE US AS JUST ANOTHER ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MILITARY GOVERNMENT. THIS GOVERNMENT IS WORKING HARD TO ARRIVE AT REAL

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DEMOCRACY -- AND NOT OF THE LAUGHING STOCK KIND OF THE LAST PERONIST PERIOD, EVEN THOUGH THAT "DEMOCRACY" BOASTED A CONGRESS AND OTHER TRAPPINGS. IT WAS THAT GOVERNMENT WHOSE FIRST ACTS WERE CO-SIGNED BY CUBAN

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PRESIDENT DORTICOS AND CHILEAN PRESIDENT ALLENDE; ITS LATER DAYS WERE CHARACTERIZED BY DISORDER AND KIDNAPPINGS. NOW WE HAVE NO HUNGER, RACE PROBLEMS OR SERIOUS CRIME. "WE WANT TO BE CONSIDERED AS A SERIOUS COUNTRY" PASTOR SAID.

18. A NEW PATH WILL LEAD TO A FULL ALLIANCE; THE EXISTING COURSE WILL LEAD TO A "NEW NEUTRALITY" WITH WHICH NEITHER THE U.S. NOR THE ARGENTINES WILL FEEL COMFORTABLE, PASTOR CONTINUED. THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE "UNCERTAIN." THEN HE ADDED: YOUR REVISIONS OF THOUGHT MUST BE TOWARD LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES OTHER THAN MEXICO AND VENEZUELA -- ALL OF LATIN AMERICA NEEDS U.S. ATTENTION, HOWEVER MUCH WE MAY APPRECIATE YOUR ATTENTION TO THE MID-EAST, SOUTH ASIA AND OTHER TROUBLE SPOTS.

19. IN RESPONSE, GENERAL GOODPASTER ASSURED PASTOR THAT ARGENTINA HAD EARNED ITS PLACE AMONG RESPECTED NATIONS, AND THAT WE SHOW THIS APPRECIATION IN WORKING WITH ARGENTINA IN THE OAS, AS WE DID EARLIER IN THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS. WE UNDERSTAND ARGENTINA'S TRADITIONAL CONCERN FOR HUMAN DIGNITY -- IT IS PART OF OUR SHARED HERITAGE -- AND CURRENT EFFORTS TO RESTORE THIS SITUATION.

20. FURTHER, GOODPASTER CONTINUED, PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SAID HE SHARES HOPES FOR BETTER RELATIONS. THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING OF PAST UNITED STATES ERRORS.

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IN NUCLEAR AFFAIRS FOR EXAMPLE: KNOWING OF ARGENTINA'S LACK OF INTENTION TO DEVELOP A WEAPON WE WANT ARGENTINE PROGRESS -- BUT WITH APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS. WE MADE THE POINT OF PROPER SAFEGUARDS WITH EUROPEAN SUPPLIERS NOT TO DELAY ARGENTINE PROGRESS, BUT TO ACHIEVE AN OBJECTIVE SHARED BY ALL. SHORTLY ARGENTINA WILL RECEIVE A LETTER FROM THE UNITED STATES REGARDING PROVISION OF FUEL FOR RESEARCH REACTORS.

21. RECOGNIZED TOO ARE STRIDES MADE IN RESTORING AUTHORITY AND SUPPRESSING TERRORISM, GOODPASTER WENT ON. UNFORTUNATE MEASURES WILL SURELY CONTINUE TO BE DISCARDED AS THE ARGENTINE SITUATION BECOMES LESS EXTRAORDINARY. DISAPPEARANCES WILL BE STOPPED AND POLITICAL PRISONERS FREED OR GIVEN RIGHT OF OPTION.

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(COMMENT: PASTOR LET THE TERM "POLITICAL PRISONER" GO BY AT THIS MOMENT, BUT PROTESTED ITS USE ON THE FOLLOWING DAY. "YOU WERE REFERRING TO TERRORISTS AND GUERRILLAS", HE SAID.)

22. FURTHERMORE, GENERAL GOODPASTER SAID, WE ARE MAKING EFFORTS TO BE SCRUPULOUS AND FAIR IN IMPORTANT AREAS: THE LEGALLY REQUIRED REPORT TO CONGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN ARGENTINA WILL BE REVIEWED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT. "I TALKED WITH SECRETARY VANCE ABOUT SOME OF THIS THE DAY BEFORE LEAVING WASHINGTON. HE IS CONCERNED FOR BASIC LEVELS OF HUMAN TREATMENT, BUT KNOWS TOO OF YOUR PAST DIFFICULTIES AND ARGENTINA'S EFFORTS TO RESTORE LEGAL PROCESSES." (COMMENT: GENERAL GOODPASTER ADDRESSED OTHER SPECIFIC POINTS. THESE TOO ARE INCLUDED IN GREATER DETAIL IN THE SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION.)

23. GENERAL GOODPASTER REFLECTED ON THE NEED FOR TIMELY CONSULTATION, AND RECALLED WHAT THE LACT OF IT  
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CAN DO TO AN ALLIANCE. HE SPOKE OF BETTER COORDINATION AND USING THE EMBASSY AS A CONSULTATIVE DEVICE. HE CONCLUDED: "WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO BE PROTECTED FROM VIOLENCE IS AN IMPORTANT RIGHT, AND WE FEEL ARGENTINA HAS COME FAR TOWARD ACCOMPLISHING THIS. THE UNITED STATES UNDERSTANDS THIS -- BUT YOU MUST UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE INSTITUTIONS THAT HAVE MADE THE U.S. STRONG. AMONG THEM IS A FREE PRESS, VITAL TO OUR SOCIETY EVEN WHILE WE ADMIT THE PRESS TENDS TO 'ACCENTUATE THE NEGATIVE.'"

24. (COMMENT: THIS CONCLUDED SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON JANUARY 23. SEPTEL WILL CONTINUE WITH PASTOR'S PRESENTATION AND GENERAL GOODPASTER'S RESPONSES ON JANUARY 24.)  
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